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The Dilemmas of Giving: The Heart of Paradox

Charles Hampden-Turner

Teng Kee Tan

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THE DILEMMAS OF GIVING: **THE HEART OF PARADOX**

In their attempts to 'do-good' and alleviate the pains of the less fortunate, the impoverished and the disadvantaged, foundations and charitable bodies face common dilemmas. Professor Charles Hampden-Turner and Professor Tan Teng Kee explore.



Illustrations, except page 66, by David Lewis. Courtesy of Professor Charles Hampden-Turner.

Giving is an expression of love and charity, but too rarely is this gratefully received and too rarely does it bring major improvements in its wake. Poverty persists. The gap between rich and poor is growing at an alarming rate. We seem to know very little about developing other people. As a veteran of America's War on Poverty¹ in the 60s and early 70s, I believe that my fellow 'warriors' and I were slightly worse than useless: on balance, despite our good intentions, we did a little more harm than good.

The motives of people who want to make a difference are not for one moment mocked. If the fault for our failure lies in our own hypocrisy and duplicity, we might as well give up. But my own conviction is that, with the best will in the world, we still do not know how to emancipate our fellow beings. Impeding our way is what I call the dilemmas of giving. And there is not much time left to learn how to deal with them.

Dilemmas: Where People Hate To Look

There are seven 'Dilemmas of Giving', seven cobras curled around our noble aspirations:

1. Single-minded giving entails single-minded receiving.
2. Welfare: the worst system imaginable.
3. More wretched than thou: the problem of negative selection.
4. Creaming off the top: how we accidentally weaken those we seek to help.
5. Charity ball: how the rich celebrate each other.
6. The dependent variables: the poor as the objects of science.
7. Basic human needs vs. high minded goals.

I have spent most of my life studying dilemmas and paradoxes, but I discovered early that most people, the highly educated especially, do not want to confront either phenomenon. A dilemma means that people, such as policymakers, are being contradicted and are faced with a rival claim to truth that is likely to confound them. They will do almost everything to escape dilemmas. I suspect we have looked everywhere for the answers to the world's problems, but not in the one place where those answers might be found: between the horns of those dilemmas that so scare us with threats of irrationality.

One might think that the problem was easily solved. Some people are richer than others. If the former were to share more of their wealth with the latter, one would think that all our problems would be solved. But it is nothing as simple as that,

because some of us use money more effectively than others, and to confiscate these resources and put them in less capable hands might impoverish us all.

1. Single-minded giving entails single-minded receiving.

This is really the key dilemma that runs like an earthquake fault through all the other dilemmas. If someone is a pure giver, then someone else out there must be a pure taker. If you are on the stairway to paradise because of your generosity, where are your beneficiaries heading? Are they sinking into the bottomless pit with the other parasites? You are helpful. They are helpless. You have taken responsibility for others, but many of them cannot even take responsibility for themselves.

Economists are so wonderfully rational. If people lack money, give it to them; but this will not work if the giver's activity precipitates the taker's passivity. Moreover, are we not rewarding, their very failure, when most of us get rewarded for success?

2. Welfare: the worst system imaginable.

If the existing western welfare system had been designed by a malevolent deity, determined to condemn welfare recipients to penury, dependence, isolation, despair and social rejection – blaming them for the forced alienation in which we have plunged them – he could hardly have designed anything more catastrophic than the present system.

On pain of being called a 'welfare cheat', welfare recipients must convince bureaucrats of their total incapacity. Woe betide them, if they have any (undeclared) resources of their own. Does anyone love them enough to give them a few extra dollars? They could be imprisoned for this.

A 'good' welfare recipient is one who gives authorities no trouble, someone so needy, so incapable that helping him is beyond all criticism. What the bureaucracy is longing for, praying for, is a 100 percent-certified slob.

We fail to see that hovering behind the welfare system is a dilemma of exquisite cruelty, so much so that it resembles a meat-grinder. What we have is Triumphant Capitalism at the top and Bureaucratic Socialism at the bottom, with the impoverished trapped in between, never good enough for market capitalism but never quite bad enough for bureaucratic socialism. The image looks like this:

Between Two Contradictory Ethics



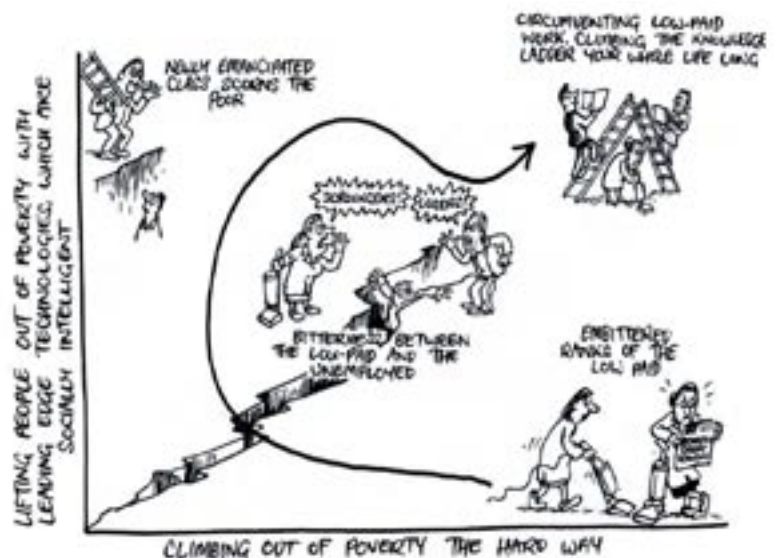
At the bottom right, the individual must be certifiably incapable or find himself destitute. At the top-left, he is gainfully employed but cares for no one else. In the centre of the diagram is a gaping fissure, the No-Man's-Land of Casual Labour and periodic unemployment. A casual labourer in most Western countries will be fired in a few weeks whether he/she works well or badly. Continuous employment means that the employer must pay fringe benefits. To avoid this, he will hire and fire casual labourers.

If your work lasts only weeks, you must re-qualify for welfare, amid dark suspicion. If you worked before, why are you not working now? A casual labourer can be dismissed in seconds without appeal. What such people find is that they are never quite good enough for gainful employment and never quite bad enough for welfare entitlement. They are ground between the upper and nether millstones. You are a capitalist failure and quite possibly a socialist cheat. We put such persons in a classic double-bind, damned if they do, damned if they don't and, of course, they face 100 percent taxation. Anything they earn should be subtracted from their welfare cheque.

Can we be surprised that such a system sometimes produces scheming persons of doubtful honesty? They have to be double-faced in order to survive, telling employers how enterprising they are and convincing bureaucrats how powerless they are. If that does not make you cynical, what will? Is it a surprise then that welfare recipients are hated and probably hate themselves? They are beggars at the feast. The group that really detests them are the working poor. Imagine getting up before dawn to clean offices. The work is back-breaking, if not soul-destroying and at the end of the day they earn little more than those paid for doing nothing. The image below reveals the clash.

Given a choice of living on your knees scrubbing floors and engaging in some profitable scam or

The lowly paid and the unemployed



racket, it is hardly surprising that youths look at the misery of their mothers and attempt some short-cut. If you are despised for being on welfare, you might as well be despicable. This brings us to Dilemma 3.

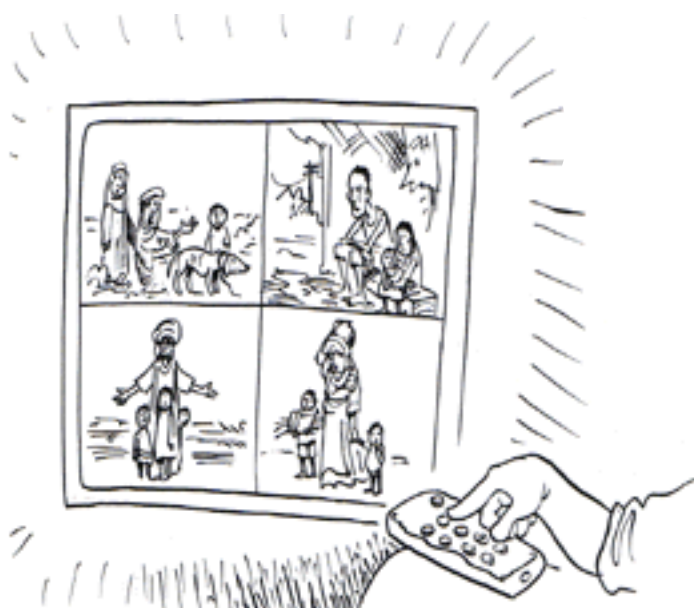
3. *More Wretched than thou. The problem of negative selection.*

The problem here is that would-be recipients of aid compete with each other in a 'race to the bottom'. They have good reason to believe that they will receive monies for their plight if they can prove more wretchedness than anyone else. They must put their worst foot forward to qualify. Should their crisis ease, they run the danger of losing out to a group whose crisis is increasing. They have an incentive to live on the edge of a never-ending emergency and to keep finding reasons to evoke our compassion. Those doing most for themselves risk being abandoned in favour of those doing least.

I am not, of course, in favour of abandoning the most desperate. This happened in the 19th century with the Irish potato famine. The economists of the time maintained that any aid would 'wreck the Irish economy' and that laissez faire had to prevail. Two million died while millions more immigrated to the United States and the population of Ireland was halved.

The dilemma is that we cannot leave them to die, even if we disrupt their economy, but neither should we discriminate against the more resourceful and able in that community. selectively helping the least competent sends quite the wrong message.

The Race to the Bottom: Wretchedness Pays



4. *Creaming off the top: how we accidentally weaken nations we seek to help.*

So hugely disproportionate is the wealth of the West that we accidentally disintegrate countries we are trying to assist. One way we do this is to cream-off a whole top strata of leadership and employ them in our corporations instead of helping and sustaining their efforts to contribute to their own country's economic development. This is not villainy on our part. We do not usually set out to corrupt. It is simply that our bargaining power is so grossly unequal that the elite in poor countries sell out to us voluntarily.

Take the case of the sales agent for Africa in a large American pharmaceutical company. He earns 10 times as much as the Minister of Health. Of course, the latter is more likely going to make major concessions to the former. There is the prospect of future employment, of getting a green-card for the US, of getting his children educated there. We cream off the elite of other lands without trying or wanting to do so. They cream off themselves, and who can blame them? They will earn more than their own countrymen in half a century. If they have been to Western universities, why should they not receive the same salary as their classmates?

Ironically, they are often advantaged in the job market, so keen are white institutions for black faces. In the 1960s, I fought in the War on Poverty with four black college graduates from Harvard. They earned multiples of my income. I was at the bottom of the league.

5. *Charity Ball: how the rich celebrate each other in the name of giving.*

The dilemma of the Charity Ball arises when those who try to raise money for the poor often associate themselves ever more closely with the rich.

Those of us, who have been to charity functions where the tickets cost five times more than the value provided will be very familiar with how it goes. And of course we should thank those who donate and buy tables. They have paid through the nose. But their motives in attending take them both physically and spiritually away from poor people and their

plight, which is remembered, if at all, between sips of champagne, by people whose not-so-secret ambition is to be photographed while talking to Sir and Lady So and So. Can we seriously reduce poverty while celebrating privilege? Would we even allow the poor to enter the party?

I do not want to carp or seem ungrateful. I organised a charity ball in my youth to help victims of the Hungarian uprising against the Soviets, but a permanent solution to poverty or to oppression it is not.

6. The dependent variables: the poor as the objects of science.

The problem here is that those of us who are social scientists, or those of us who hire social scientists to work for us, are not always alert to the professional ambitions of these disciplines. What they seek to imitate is the physical sciences in predicting and controlling their data, which happen to be other people. The not-so-secret aim of many of us is to be an 'Independent Variable' and for the responses of poor people to be the 'Dependent Variables.'

Throughout the War on Poverty, I noticed this ambition burning in the souls of my colleagues. They would devise a 'cure for poverty', a technique which would automatically elevate the objects of their social engineering. Unfortunately, being a 'Dependent Variable' is a pretty good starting definition of what it means to be poor. It is closer to a description of the problem rather than the answer to this problem. Predicting and controlling what others do has been the motive of tin pot dictators since history began. The poor want to be 'independent variables' just as we do.

Dependent Variables Dangling



Here we see the situation as idealised by the social scientist. He wants to be the puppet master. He seeks to cause someone else's emancipation in a 'scientific' way that can be replicated by colleagues to create a sure-fire technique for fighting poverty.

In the early 70s, the National Institute of Mental Health asked themselves what would happen if they mobilised the entire gamut of weapons in their arsenal. They chose a troubled Indian reservation with a high alcoholism rate, and poured in psychiatric social workers, alcoholism specialists, community support officers and so on until there were as many experts as Indians. I am sure you can guess the outcome: more addiction, despair and confusion than ever. We do not assist the poor with helping strangers 'delivering mental health' – whatever that means. The poor need helping friends and pouring the milk of human kindness over their heads only leaves them soaking and shivering.

7. Basic human needs vs. high-minded goals

Sometimes, I think that the goals of charitable organisations are too high-minded, like distributing biblical tracts to paupers. A few years ago, I was in Malawi for the British Council where there were only four literate Malawians working in the office. They spent 90 percent of their time writing proposals. They had no idea of what had been done with the grants they had obtained. I do recall a Swedish donor who had given £35 million for civic improvement but insisted that seminars on gender equality be held. That was why 400 people attended this conference – all of them men, and getting their \$5 a day for attendance.

Democracy is crucially important, but it may not be necessary to the first or even second staged economic development as the Chinese have shown us and the Koreans before them, both militarised states for many years. In fact, the needs of the poor are so basic and simple they would all probably agree by acclamation what they require: they need enough to eat, clean water and sanitation so that they no longer live among their own wastes, a roof over their heads, and law and order so that they are not constantly preyed upon.

In Britain, the average longevity in cities was 37 years in 1830, much shorter life-spans than those in the country. By 1890, it was 62 years in urban areas. The difference was clean water, an aggressive sewage treatment programme (the Thames had been called The Great Stink),

and improved public health. You cannot do production work when your family has typhoid or cholera.

Overcoming The Dilemmas

Yes, the list of dilemmas that stands between us and successful giving that grows and sustains people is formidable. But it can be overcome. There are seven principles which, between them, can reconcile the dilemmas I have detailed so far.

1. The Reciprocity Principle

The reconciliation of giving and receiving is human reciprocity. We must give to persons willing to give to others and who are willing to pay us back, perhaps not in the same hard currency, but pay us back nonetheless. For everything you receive, there is an obligation to repay in some form.

This is the main reason microfinance is so important and such a rare success story. It selectively empowers those who repay their debts with interest, and of course, she re-lends what she received to those she can trust and unlike loan officers, she gets to stare at them across the breakfast table if they look like defaulting. It is in the interests of friends and neighbours that she repays and earns access to larger amounts, so they will pressure each other to repay her. She becomes influential in direct proportion to how wisely she chooses key helpers, introducing these to the bank as well. Poor people are not just poor because they have little. They are poor because they give little. Enabling them to give and to give back to those who help them is a vital first step, a basic lesson in humanity. The Grameen Bank, founded by Mohammad Yunus, even makes those struck by earthquake, wind and fire repay. They ease and extend the terms of the loan, but not to repay means that the money cannot be lent to others. It means you are not willing to prevail against misfortune.

The level of exploitation in poor countries should freeze our blood. As an example, there are cases where corporations in Bangladesh charge job candidates 10 times what it costs to interview them, and that bribe to get the job can be as much as 10 months' salary.

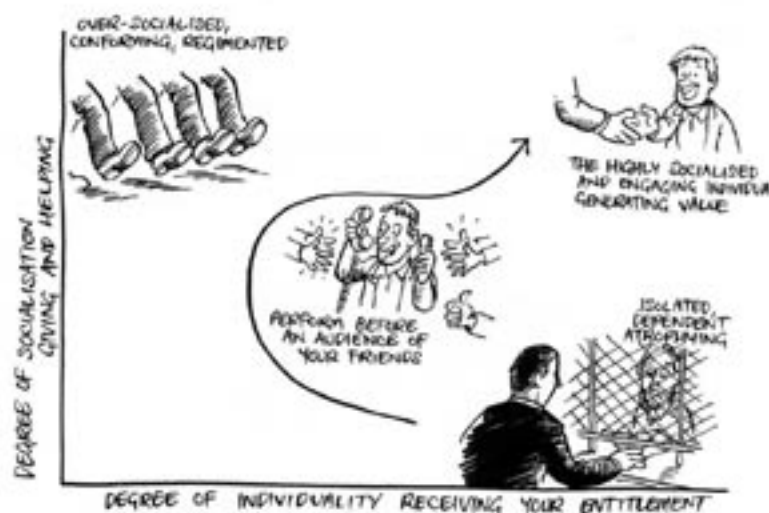
2. The Consortium Or Cooperative Principle

There is a famous experiment with unmothered monkeys who must drink milk from a barbed wire replica instead. While these kinds of experiments tell you more about psychologists than monkeys, the results are interesting. The baby monkeys

form one large ball of fur and cling tenaciously to each other for emotional comfort.

My view is that the poor only escape from poverty as a wedge of closely cooperating people. Their only source of strength and hope is each other. Having welfare recipients stand in straight lines before steel grilles in the welfare office is to isolate them and alienate them. Having microfinance borrowers form groups of five and six gives them courage and resilience. Because they all come from different families, you have about 30 people involved in countries like Bangladesh, making sure no one defaults and maintaining that amazing 97 percent repayment rate. To escape poverty, you must socialise the alienated individual.

Socialising the Alienated Individual



The steel grilles in the welfare office are there to protect the staff from assaults by claimants, so great is the hatred between them. The man who opens the door in the morning literally runs for cover as the desperate hordes enter.

But here is an idea I think might work. In the mid-70s, I was a member of a team from SRI International in California which, at the behest of Gerald Ford (then running for President), came up with the idea of a Welfare Consortium. Persons on welfare would have the choice of pooling their entitlements with around 100 other recipients. They would perhaps rehabilitate a derelict building through sweat equity and use it as a club house and a meeting place. In charge of them would be a Social Entrepreneur with the best track record available and who was strictly responsible for the accounts.

All consortia would be legally obliged to get no fewer than 20 percent of their members off welfare into paid work within one year, and recruiting new welfare recipients to replace them. The division of labour would assume that these consortia were incredibly efficient and cost-saving. Cheating could endanger the whole consortium and would not be tolerated by the group.

Instead of taking money for doing nothing, each consortium would strive to repay its community whose taxes supported them. What they did for that community would be limited only by their imagination and local needs: a proper playground for children, evenings off work for those shut in with sick relatives, playgroups for toddlers, computer lessons, cooking and aerobic classes, groceries delivered to the doors of old people, and even having drug dealers surrounded, named, shamed and photographed by mobile phones donated by a mobile phone company. Up to a hundred people are mobilised by phone to stand up to gangs. It is by voluntary information given to the police that 90 percent of all suspects are apprehended. Mobile phones could be exchanged for knives and guns which are then handed into authorities.

While they would not be paid contractually for such tasks, grateful neighbours could donate to keep the initiatives flowing. Once the playground was built, parents might want to contribute to building costs. Those who had graduated into paid jobs could donate to their consortium tax free, while the consortium screens its own members for those reliable enough to get micro-credit. A consortium could, in time, become an outlet for banks. After all, it knows its own people very well.

Each consortium could have its own scrip currency, so members could earn and make exchanges, thus avoiding 100 percent taxation on their first earnings. Everyone works, however old, because work is life. You do not compete with the working poor because much of the work is unpriced, voluntary and experimental, to see whether people appreciate it or not. Would they like invisible marks on all their valuable appliances which show up under infrared light to reveal that the object was stolen and who it belonged to? Would they like their kids escorted to school or themselves escorted from the bank? There are scores of such jobs to be done in any community.

3. The Social Entrepreneurship Principle

My view of the psycho-social development of people is driven by the same entrepreneurial principle as economic wealth creation. There is no River Nile of human development; rather, there is something resembling the Nile Delta, where thousands of winding tributaries irrigate the environment, each one feeling its way forward in a totally unique trajectory.

If we let loose Social Entrepreneurs and if we allow these to head welfare consortia, then we would free up the imaginations of the creative minority who have always been the making of great nations. I set you a challenge. What would you do with a dozen ex-shoplifters with more than a hundred convictions between them? Would you pay them to work for you, assuming you agreed to pay them at all? What are they worth on the market given their light-fingered careers?

I know a social entrepreneur Mimi Silbert of the Delancey Street Foundation in San Francisco who sells these services for half a million dollars a year. She got them to form a Thieves Theatre Group. They go from one department store to another in California and beyond, where they give hilarious performances of how they used to operate, complete with boosting boxes and voluminous raincoats lined with hooks. They charge a consulting fee of US\$4,000 for a 90-minute performance. They are now making instructional DVDs which they sell to stores.

The beauty of the scheme is that they can never return to their former lives. They would be recognised at once!

The same foundation takes parties of teenagers in trouble on a tour of Alcatraz, the infamous prison in the middle of San Francisco Bay. "This is what you are heading for", is the message. "Don't be an idiot like me."

Another example: It was a social entrepreneur who started the Eden Project, an educational charity dedicated towards a better future based on a multi-disciplinary approach in Britain's southwest, which has attracted three million visitors since its opening. It makes £800 million a year and has revived the whole of the West Country. Beneath a huge glass dome, a number of temperature-controlled environments house the exotic flora and fauna indigenous to different climes.

It was another social entrepreneur who built Harlem Prep which gets its black students into Harvard, Yale, Stanford and Columbia; while London's Café Direct is a social enterprise that buys its coffee direct from producer cooperatives in the Third World at a fair price. It hires unemployed people and makes profits that are ploughed back into expansion.

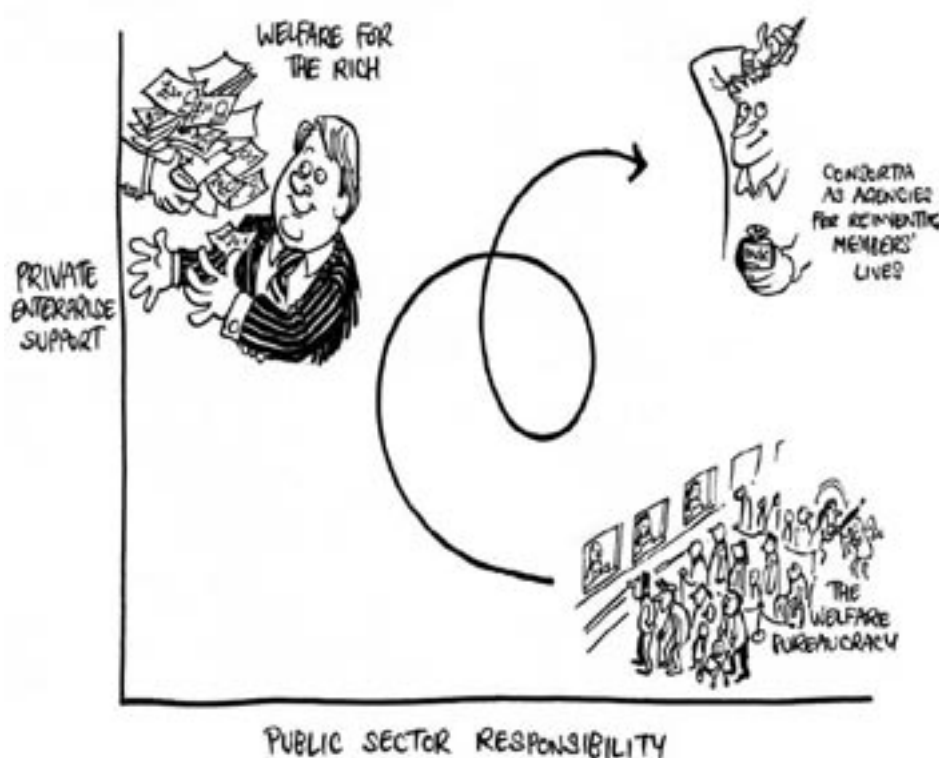
The important thing about social entrepreneurship is that it does not take the jobs of the working poor. It invents new jobs that did not exist before, that had no market price, that no one knew they wanted until these jobs were performed. It is, potentially, a fun way to climb out of poverty rather than the dour, arduous, physically exhausting way of semi-skilled labour. If social entrepreneurship was to be combined with welfare consortia, pooled welfare entitlements could be used for lift-off. Entrepreneurs could have a free experimental work force to try out new ideas. The synergies create alliances between the public and private sectors, and helps to reinvent the lives of the poor and their helpers. As the illustration below shows, the rich actually receive more government support than the poor. But if the poor form enterprises, this could change.

4. The Provident Principle

In Britain, we have a legal entity called a provident association. It is allowed to make profits, take over other organisations, but it has no shareholders. All its earnings are ploughed back into the expansion of its good causes. It exists not for private enrichment but for public service and in this area it can be quite assertive. Perhaps the best known is BUPA, The British United Provident Association, the largest private health insurer in that country.

What the provident association does is reconcile the dilemma between socialism and capitalism, not-for-profit and for-profit bodies, and selflessness and selfishness. Instead of locking the poor away with bureaucrats and hand-outs, it offers them a hand-up into socially vital work which can be performed joyfully and effectively. The genius of capitalism has nothing to do with the triumph of pure selfishness as economists would have it. It has to do with thinking first of customers and their satisfaction and then enjoying the revenue they provide. There is no reason why social entrepreneurs and welfare consortia should not do this too.

Combining the Public and Private Sectors



Surely it is high time that companies begin to appeal to consumers on the basis of the character of the supplying organisation and the social contribution which that consortium or association makes? So long as the prime purpose of an organisation is to enrich shareholders, such appeals are greeted with skepticism.

Provident associations could form powerful alliances and compete with each other at cooperating with the social environment. The best graduates from our universities would vie to head such associations. Social enterprise would be taught in our schools and colleges, and best practices would spread.

5. The Innovative Principle

Since at this time we do not really know how best to lift people out of poverty, or how best to heal them of addiction, crime and violence, we should begin a vast number of social experiments and go with what works best. We must agree on common measures of social betterment and then disseminate the results of what seems to work and what does not, exchanging information among foundations and other donors.

Innovation is the only answer for those who have already wasted half their lives and whose legs no longer fit beneath a school desk. You have to start again, in new ways, with new ideas. You might as well risk what you have because you do not have much. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor² studies of entrepreneurship tell us that half the world's entrepreneurs act out of desperation. They need to survive. They invent because they must. We must tap the inventiveness and innovation of the otherwise desperate.

Singapore's Nanyang Technopreneurship Centre is guided by the principle that entrepreneurship can be taught; in fact, 160 graduates have, to date, started 46 new businesses between them. Social entrepreneurship can be taught as well and its graduates can set up alliances of provident associations. They just need to be given a chance.

6. The Social Marketing Principle

Surely it is high time that companies begin to appeal to consumers on the basis of the character of the supplying organisation and the social contribution

that it makes? So long as the prime purpose of an organisation is to enrich shareholders, such appeals are greeted with skepticism. Company A promises to give five cents of every purchase to disabled children, but it cannot give away anything substantial without facing a suit from shareholders.

A provident association or a welfare consortium or a social entrepreneur faces none of these handicaps. This enables the freedom to create a brand that has social meaning for humanity at large. Why can't a company incorporate, in its sales drive, messages of substantive social importance?

Thirty years ago, I wrote a piece of advertising copy which, on reflection, was ahead of its time for taking on the various aspirin companies.

In essence, I said, "There is no difference between all these aspiring brands. The Federal Drug Administration has said it five times. The Federal Trade Commission twice. We supply aspirin too, Just Aspirin: it's no better and no worse than the other four brands on the market. But we build a community, bring hope to thousands who never had hope before, and we are making our part of the city a liveable place again, with safe streets, decent homes and self-respecting people. Come and see the line of generic drugs we have made for Third World people. These could stop a world pandemic spreading to YOU. Middle class medicine cannot meet that crisis. Think about that and you may get fewer headaches. But the next time you get a headache, remember Just Aspirin. To you that might mean just pain relief. To us, it means social justice, justice for those who are poor and powerless. When you reach for Just Aspirin, you reach beyond pills to people and people need each other."

This kind of social marketing enables people to do more than fill their stomachs and meet

physical needs. It allows them to pursue values and social aims through these choices. The Body Shop became a global success because it promised its products were not tested on animals, because every would-be franchisee was invited to fulfil an obligation to the community in which their shop was located and describe the social project they would sponsor, and because the products were made by poor people's cooperatives.

Social marketing resolves most of the dilemmas I have mentioned. It enables the disadvantaged to give as well as receive. It reconciles the profit/non-profit dilemma, along with the socialist-capitalist divide. It helps people to help themselves and brings human compassion into day-to-day commerce. It motivates the elite from poor countries to return home and help their people. It turns the impoverished into independent variables and innovators. It combines high-mindedness with prosaic, everyday wants. It fills the airways with messages that matter, not with silly blandishments like "Pop, pop, fizz, fizz. Oh, how absurd it is!"

7. The Networked Organisation Principle

This last principle is multiple-based. First, we have the internet. We can use it for more than fraud and pornography purposes, amongst others. For the first time, we can get a fair estimate of what I call a corporation's social conscience: the ratio of men's to women's wages, the number of people trained and educated, the number of water wells completed for the community when oil drilling strikes water and not oil or gas, the minority hiring record, the money spent on safety, the ratio of R&D to total product costs. We have the capacity to create league tables of corporate citizenship.

Once we start doing this, deeds of generosity will become selling expenses and shareholders will have no grounds to object. Just as they have not objected to lavish corporate donations to Project Hope in China amounting to some \$50 billion. American corporations give away more to China than to their own country because they feel they must. It is a marketing expense. Why don't we invent some good reasons too? Capitalism, which once countenanced slavery, is a pretty flexible system.

I do not see why a social entrepreneur should not create an online advisory service to consumers making complex purchases. If you have X amount of money to spend on a car, then please order these values. Give these the weighting you want and we will indicate the Best Buy from your perspective.

Values could include low cost, fuel economy, level of pollution, insurance cost, safety, secondhand value, etc. Your chosen vehicle could be ordered, licensed and delivered to your door. Such an organisation would be commercially powerful, and could push its own social agenda as far as its customers wanted to take this.

With the internet, not only might all provident associations be linked, but their more brilliant social initiatives could be communicated across the world to be imitated everywhere within days.

Conclusion

I would like to end on a personal note. I recently passed my 73rd birthday. I am a few years ahead of the post-war baby boom. A few years from now, that boom will be entering their seventies. It is an age cohort with which I identify, because in Europe and America, we marched together, protested together and struggled together. We dreamed that things could be different. My first book was called *Radical Man*.

Not only does this ageing cohort have a social conscience, it is now becoming conscious of the end of its own life. There is nothing like advancing age to remind you that you cannot take any money or possessions with you. While I used to believe that I was worth what I owned and possessed, I now know that I am worth only what I can give away and pass on, that the only traces of me remaining on this earth will be among those I have taught and loved and influenced. When people grasp this truth, perhaps these values will prevail. □

¹ Legislation first introduced by United States President Lyndon B Johnson in 1964 in response to the difficult economic conditions associated with a national poverty rate of about 19 percent.

² Partnership between the London Business School and Babson College.



Professor Charles Hampden-Turner is

a British management philosopher, and senior research associate at the Judge Business School at the University of Cambridge since 1990. He is the creator of Dilemma Theory, and co-founder and director of Research and Development at the Trompenaars-Hampden-Turner Group, in Amsterdam.



Professor Tan Teng

Kee is a professor at the Nanyang Technology University and director of the Nanyang Technopreneurship Center. Prior to joining the University in 1999, he was an entrepreneur and the founder of several consumer product companies.

This article is based on Professor Charles Hampden-Turner's keynote address at the National Volunteerism & Philanthropy Conference held in Singapore on 30 October 2007.